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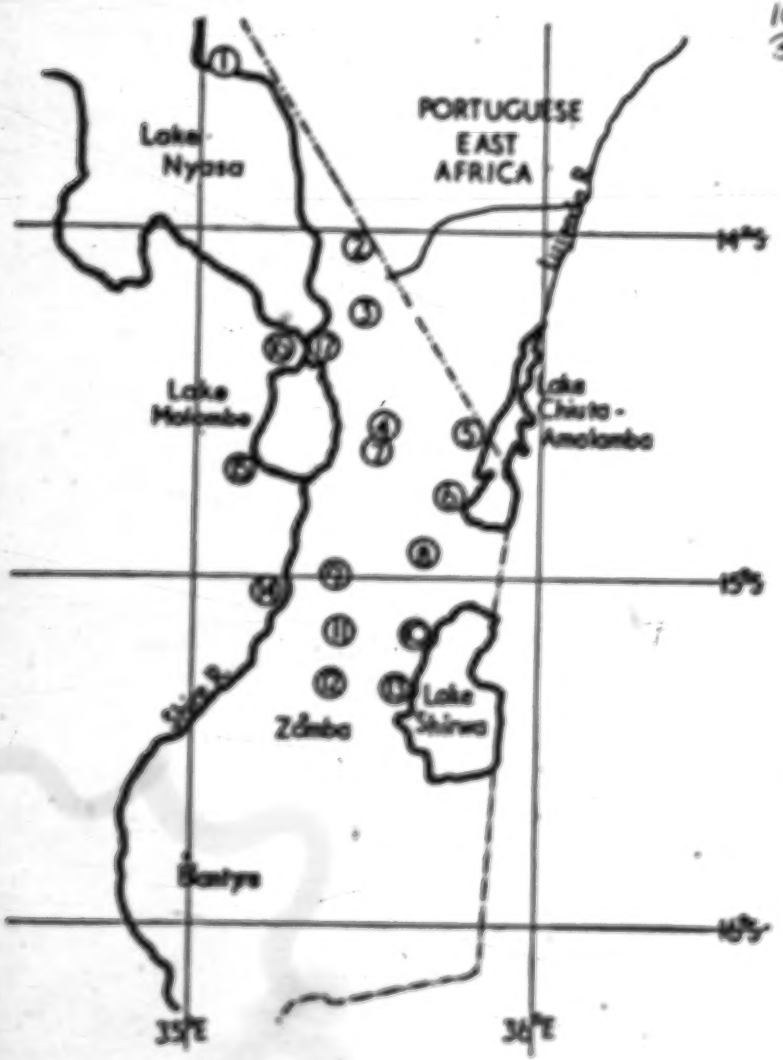

Map II. Southern Nyasaland.

Showing the positions of Machinga and other Chiefs.

1. Mdongolo (Mawanga)
2. Kwadi (Chisi)
3. Jalasi (Machinga)
4. Nyambi (Machinga)
5. Ngokwe (Ngoni)
6. Chikowe (Ngoni)
7. Chimoko (Machinga)
8. Kawinga (Machinga)
9. Liwonde (Machinga)
10. Mpeni (Machinga)
11. Chiwoko (Machinga)
12. Mabwelo (Machinga)
13. Mwanaja (Machinga)
14. Mwenelo (Machinga)
15. Kalembo (Machinga)
16. Mpondo (Machinga)
17. Nankhumba (Nyanja)

[p.15]

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

therefore, be weakened, and the component parts of the village scattered. This is what the Administration argued when it wrote about the split-up of communities: 'This tendency is to some extent gratifying, in that it originates in the native's sense of his complete security under the existing Government.'[1] I have not much evidence that this is true, and in fact do not think it is. Second, there is little doubt from my village histories that the slave-groups attached to various village headmen were deserting their former masters and setting up independent villages.

It is significant that the report speaks of the 'old large communities'. Duff MacDonald, writing of the Blantyre area in the period 1877–81, says: 'Usually the natives live in small villages containing 10 or 11 huts, occasionally in large villages containing three times as many. They do not like to pack themselves closely. In time of peace few villages contain more than 100 people.'[2] Hynde, writing of the Domasi area, says: 'Sometimes a village consists only of five or six huts; more commonly twelve or twenty and rarely above thirty. The chief's village at Domasi consists of more than 100 houses but that is an exceptional case. The villages occur at intervals of quarter to one mile.'[3] In July 1895, the Collector at South Nyasa made a census of all the villages on the west bank of the Shire (64 villages). These were mainly Yao, but also included some Nyanja. The modal size of villages, calculated from his published figures, is 26 huts.[4] The reports of MacDonald and Hynde agree well, although they describe different areas. The Collector's average was slightly larger, but one is not sure that he has not included two or three settlements under one headman. A village, Changali, was marked as having 217 huts, but a note indicated that they were scattered. Also the numerical accuracy is not above question because a large proportion of hut totals end in 0 or 5, indicating estimation rather than enumeration. From my own observation, the arithmetic mean of a sample of 37 villages in two separate areas was 11 huts (mode was 8 huts).

It seems, therefore, that the optimum size for Yao villages has always been about 10 to 15 huts, and that the disintegration

[1] *Annual Report of the Territory, 1911–12*, Murray, *Handbook*, 128.
[2] MacDonald, *Africana*, i, 145.
[3] Hynde, R. S., 'Among the Machinga People'.
[4] *B.C.A. Gazette*, ii, 3 (Sept. 1895).

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

noted by the Administration in 1904 was in fact the break-up of larger communities under important village headmen. These communities were, as is evident from MacDonald's writings, largely made up of slaves and their descendants. In the light of the internal structure of modern villages, I believe that the fragmentation going on at that time was due to the breaking of the bond between captor and slave—a bond formerly reinforced by physical sanctions that included the killing of a slave by his captor. Therefore, while the groups thus linked to the headman may have moved out of his village, his matrilineal kinsmen, who were bound to him by bonds of deep sentiment and religious beliefs, remained. The irreducible 10 to 15 huts were therefore likely to have been those of the headman's own matrilineal kinsmen. When the Administration ascribed the continuing tendency all over the Protectorate to the splitting up of villages into small family groups [1] it was probably describing the splitting off of descendants of slave-wives to found villages of their own. While this process of readjustment was going on, the Administration stepped in with legislation designed to control what it considered to be unchecked social disorganization. The Administration spoke of the necessity to

> build up an organization to control the rising generation of natives who, finding themselves without the restraining influences to which their parents were accustomed, have of recent years evinced an inclination to emancipate themselves from the disciplinary responsibilities of village life and obedience to authority, and to adopt habits prejudicial to native family life.[2]

To accomplish this task the Government introduced the District Administration (Natives) Ordinance of 1912. This was the Ordinance about which the Administration wrote in 1913:

> Framed, as it has been, in accord with native ideas and practice, it is a measure which none the less avoids the defects of the archaic system of tribal rule and which has as its aims the gradual formation of a subsidiary local government by means of Sectional Councils of Headmen chosen as far as possible by natives themselves and presided over by the District Resident.[3]

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[1] *Annual Report, 1911–12*, Murray, *Handbook*, 128.
[2] *Annual Report on the Protectorate for 1912–13*, Murray, *Handbook*, 129.
[3] Murray, *Handbook*, 129.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 · FT7 Yao FT7

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(*a*) Villages on the floor of the Rift Valley near Fort Johnston.
(*December 1949*)

(*b*) A village in the Domasi Valley near Zomba.
(*September 1949*)

PLATE III

[facing p. 46]

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

CHAPTER III

THE COMPOSITION OF MODERN CHIEFDOMS

Chiefdoms in the Administrative Mould

361 NO less than in MacDonald's time, modern chiefdoms are in the first place organizations of villages. Physically, the villages consist of solid pole and daub huts of varying sizes. 342 Some huts are rectangular, twenty feet long and fifteen feet wide, with glass windows, panelled doors, and thatched roofs. Others are small and round, about eight feet in diameter. There is also a considerable variation in the compactness of villages: often the huts are only a few yards apart, but sometimes at least a hundred yards or more. Most villages, however, could be circumscribed by a circle of a quarter-mile diameter, though, of course, there are many exceptions. There is a slight tendency for the village to spread itself along a path, in a way faintly suggesting ribbon development, but on the whole there is no particular physical pattern to the Yao village. In fact, though most villages have fairly distinct physical boundaries, and are definitely discrete clusters of huts, some are difficult to identify in this way. To the minds of the local people, however, the 621 village is quite clear and distinct. This is because they see the village primarily as a social unit, and tend to impute into physical boundaries more definition than actually exists. It is in the social sense that I use the word here: the 'village' is a spatial group which recognizes its identity against similar groups.

The importance of the village in Yao structure can hardly be over-emphasized. Membership of a village provides the first index whereby people determine a stranger's background. If, after village membership is fixed, no other links can be found with a stranger, such as distant kinship, the relationship will remain at that level. A gossip identifies the person about whom 621 he is speaking by giving his or her name and the name of his 551 or her village. He says, 'Bt.[1] Mwana of Cigwaja village'.

[1] I use this abbreviation for the Arabic 'binti', 'daughter of'. Binti, pronounced 'biti' by the Yao, with Ali and Wadi, 'son of', appear commonly in Yao names.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

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(*a*) Women of a matrilineage preparing cassava together. A scene in a village in Malemia's area.
(*September 1949*)

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(*b*) A hut in Ali Kaunka village (Bt. Ntuwa's hut, i.e. hut number 3 in the diagram in Appendix B). In the foreground are grainbins.
(*September 1948*)

PLATE VIII

[Facing p. 140]

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

593 611 sisters are the points of cleavage in the matrilineage and the group of uterine sisters is seldom divided, unless their daughters are old enough to form a corporate group and to move off with their mother to found a new village under their brother.

The Spatial Representation of Lineage Segmentation

361 613 621 The segmentation of the matrilineage is also shown in the spatial distribution of the huts in a village. The daughters of the women of the matrilineage set up their huts near to their mothers', and as this continues over a number of years, the internal segmentation of the matrilineage is automatically reflected in the disposition of huts. Most Yao villages will show this spatial representation of social distance, some more clearly than others. The clearest example I have is in Meni section of Majaja village, Nyambi's area. The disposition of the huts is set out in the village plan in Appendix C. Here are five fairly distinct groups of huts in the village. Four are descendants of four uterine sisters, the children of the previous Majaja. The space between these four groups is cleared and paths reticulate among the huts. About 200 yards away, the fifth group is out of sight of the others and must be reached by a path leading through the fields. In this cluster of huts live the children of the uterine brother of the four sisters. The matrilineal relatives of Majaja live about half a mile away in a quite distinct cluster.

In Cikoja village the same principles are at work but the situation is somewhat obscured by the number of patrilaterally-linked relatives. A glance at the village plan in Appendix D shows that the major segments, denoted by the symbols Ma and Mc in the plan, are quite distinct in the old village site, the huts of Ma being separated from those of Mc by a broad path and by a patch of bamboos. In the new village site across the stream the same general segmentation is shown where the two sections, Ma_1 and Ma_2, are separated by a path.[1] The separation of the clusters of huts is difficult to represent on a diagram because not only are the huts placed in discrete clusters, but they face in towards one another and the space between them is kept clean. Between the clusters there may be rubbish heaps and small garden patches. I describe later how the village continually

[1] I describe how this section of the village came to be across the river on p. 169.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

adjusts itself to the changes in its composition. At this point I wish only to indicate how the differentiation among the various segments of a matrilineage is reflected in the way the members site their huts in a village.

The Segmentary Process

The segmentary tendencies within the lineage are countered by unifying forces, but the cleavages between the lineage sections show up at the slightest provocation. Once the cleavage starts it widens rapidly and charges of sorcery become more and more frequent between the two sections until eventually one moves out to found a new village. A cleavage of this type has been developing in Cikoja village for the last eight years. When I left the field in 1949, talk of migration was in the air but it had not yet happened. I summarize the major events which led to the present situation.

The cleavage first manifested itself in 1942 when Bt. Mbwana (F2) [1] fought with her mother's younger 'sister' Ayesi (E8). These two were pounding at the same place in the village and Bt. Mbwana took Ayesi's flat sifting basket. She retained it for about four days without telling Ayesi that she had it. One day Ayesi saw it at the pounding point and asked Bt. Mbwana where she got it. They had a few words about it and Bt. Mbwana returned it and thought no more of it. She was pregnant at the time and was confined about a month later. It was her fifth child but she had a greatly prolonged labour. After labour had been going on for some hours, Cilimba (F1), her eldest brother, thought that there must be something wrong and sent his two younger brothers, Kausi (F3) and Gwili (F4) to a diviner. The diviner indicated that the cause of the difficult birth was that her 'younger mother' Ayesi was bearing her malice,[2] and advised that Ayesi should blow water from her mouth and declare that she bore no malice. Kausi and Gwili returned and went to Bt. Amisa (E4) who was Ayesi's elder sister and told her what the diviner had said. Bt. Amisa did as she was advised and fetched Ayesi to the door of the hut in which Bt. Mbwana was lying, and made her confess. The child was born immediately. After a week Cilimba and Kausi brought a complaint to the village headman Cikoja (E7). They accused Ayesi of trying to kill their sister. Cikoja sent a message to

[1] The reference numbers refer to the genealogy in Appendix D.

[2] Difficult labour is usually assumed to be due to adultery, but it may also be due to sorcery or malice. See p. 138, and Chap. VII, p. 185.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

Other Types of Village Structure

621 571 Linked groups in most villages are connected by patrilateral ties, but other kinsmen, or even unrelated persons, are also found in villages. I have been describing essentially the organization of groups. Some kinsmen do in fact come to live in villages because of personal links to the headman or some other villager. If a man or woman does this, he or she usually has a single hut which is placed close to his or her kinsman. If the person lives in the village long enough a related group may grow up around him or her, and when the children reach adulthood this group will become internally organized and corporate in its dealings with the other groups in the village. But this seldom happens, because the ties to the resident kinsman are usually too weak to hold the children, or the causes which drove the founder of the new group out of his or her original village have disappeared. Children may leave a village with their mother because she was accused of being a sorceress, and go to live in the village where her brother is married. When she dies, or the incident is forgotten, they may go back to their matrilineal village. For example, Bt. Mkwinda of Cikoja village ran away with her husband after her child was supposed to have been bewitched by her mother. But her children, as they grew up, came back to marry in the village of origin, or at least to contract marriages near it. In Chiwalo's, Nyambi's and Kawinga's areas, where I have recorded most genealogies of villages, I found few people who were neither matrilineal- nor patrilaterally-linked relatives. In Malemia area, which is nearer Zomba, the situation was 621 somewhat different. The dominant matrilineage- and patrilater- 571 ally-linked groups of the typical Yao village were still quite easily 361 discernible. But there were other related and unrelated groups and huts in the villages. An example of this is Citenjele village,[1] on the north boundary of Malemia's area. There the main village contained the following huts:

Dominant matrilineage	22
Groups linked through present headman	5
Hut linked through present headman's brother	1
Groups linked through previous headman	5
Groups linked through previous headman's brother	4
	37 huts

[1] See also 'An Outline of the Social Structure of Malemia Area', 36–40.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

About 250 yards to the north-west is a single hut belonging to the sister of the husband of one of the present headman's daughters. In the middle of the group on the road is a single hut of a woman who has no connections in the village at all. Her husband works in a mission garden about a mile away. About 100 yards from the north-east edge of the main block is a group of 4 huts which are unrelated to Citenjele, but which had joined him about 25 years ago before he had moved into Malemia area. About 250 yards farther to the north-east there are 2 huts owned by the daughters of the sister of the wife of a man who had married one of the female members of the dominant matrilineage. Due east about half a mile away, there is a group of 6 huts which are owned by Yao. These are unrelated groups and are under Citenjele as Administrative Village Headman, but they are for all intents and purposes separate villages.

There are other types of villages. For example, in Namwera area I found a village composed of a number of unrelated sections. The huts of each could quite easily be distinguished from those of other sections though they were built very close to each other in some parts of the village. Each section was built up on exactly the same pattern as other Yao villages—that is, there was a dominant matrilineage and sometimes some patrilaterally-linked huts. Each section had its own leader who concerned himself with its internal affairs. He, nevertheless, recognized the authority in general of a village headman, who lived in one of the sections of the village. He was the Administrative Headman for the village and he was the first to come into the area. All the other sections had had to ask him for land when they had moved into the area. His authority was confined to his duties as Administrative Headman though he was much respected and the sections called him in regularly as an arbitrator in their affairs. But if the chief called all village headmen to the court, the leaders of the various sections went as well, so that he was not in fact their representative to outside authority in all situations. The relationships between the various sections, therefore, were very much like those between village headmen in Kawinga's area. The only difference seemed to be the amount of physical concentration of the huts.

I tried to find out why these sections lived so close to one another. My informants told me that there were many men away at labour centres and it was necessary to build the huts

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 · FT7 Yao FT7

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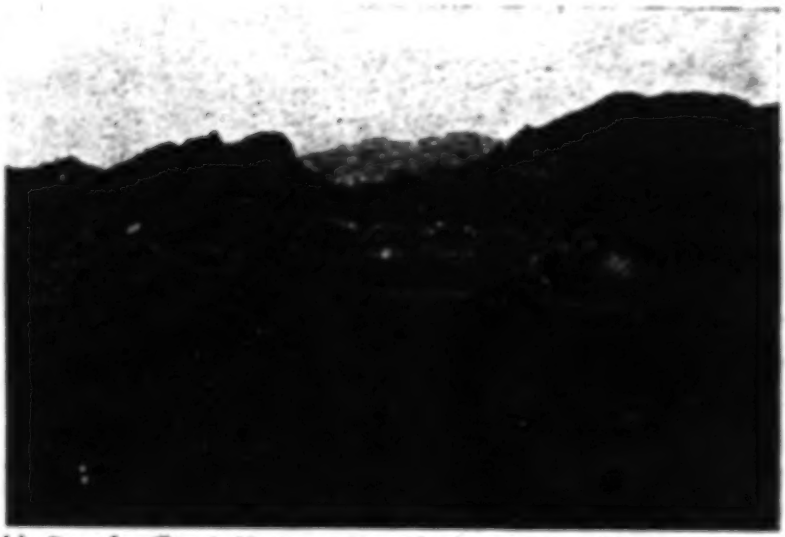

(*a*) Part of a village in Nanwewra area. The distinct group of huts on the right is not related to those in the left-hand corner, but is only one section of the village.
(October 1948)

(*b*) A slightly different view of the same part of the village. The fence encloses the granaries, kitchen and latrine.
(October 1948)

PLATE IX

[facing p. 206]

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

621 571 341 close together so that the few men left in the village could protect the village against man-eating lions. This is certainly an area where man-eating lions are common and kill people every year. It is true also that man-eating lions have ceased their depredations in Kawinga and Nyambi areas. But I also found a similar type of village in Malemia area.[1] Here the explanation was that the villages had been made to live together by the Administration under the 1912 Ordinance. But the Ordinance was applied to the whole district, yet there are not many of these villages.

The relationships between the section leaders and the village headman are exactly the same as those between independent headmen farther south. The difference in the villages is the degree of physical concentration of the huts; which brings up for review the concept of 'the village'. I have defined the village as a discrete cluster of huts occupied by a group of kinsmen[2] and hinted that the huts were not always clearly separated from neighbouring huts. In fact the Yao word for village, *muzi*, may be applied to social groups of different orders. I have already mentioned that different sections of a village may be scattered in discrete groups. The term *kamuzi* (diminutive) or even *muzi* may be applied to any of these clusters of huts in a situation where the larger kinship section is not involved. A man may tell his friend that he has bought some maize at Meni's village. He means that he bought the maize at the group of huts under Meni in Majaja village. In a court case, however, he would say that he had married a woman in Majaja village even though he were referring to the daughter of Meni.

621 571 The expanded village—i.e. the groups of kinsmen who recognise the leadership of one man, but whose huts are relatively distantly spaced in discrete clusters—may give a stamp to the social organization in a small area of, say, a square mile or two. The dominant matrilineage of the senior headman and his patrilaterally-linked groups may all live in this area in physically separate groups, but their kinship is still dominant and they are for ritual purposes still 'of one fire'. In time any of these groups may move off and be replaced by complete strangers. The senior headman still retains his position of authority over the

[1] Ngalango village. It is described in 'An Outline of the Social Structure of Malemia Area', 33-6.

[2] Chap. I, p. 3, and Chap. V, p. 110 f.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

When a villager died in pre-White days, the hut and personal effects were destroyed. Nowadays, with the improving type of dwelling, which frequently includes well-timbered doors and glass-windows, huts are treated with medicine to cleanse them of the harmful effects of the death and they are used again. But all houses must be repaired continually if they are to remain habitable. Eventually most houses fall beyond repair and new houses must be built. The women pull the poles out of the ground and use them for firewood and the site is planted with pumpkins or maize by the nearest relative.[1] A new hut site is then chosen according to the wishes of the owners. As a rule outsiders are neutral about this, and a village member selects a site in accordance with his or her social position in the village. The women still stay near their mother, but they may build on the outside fringe of a group of huts. When the mother's house collapses she may in turn build her hut on the outside fringe of the group near her daughter's hut. In this way the spatial distribution of the huts gradually comes to reflect the segmentation of the lineage.

As the woman's daughter's children grow up and marry, the woman's son persuades his wife's relatives to allow him to take his wife to live in his home village. If he is a polygynist he usually takes the senior wife, but he may take the other or others as well. His own daughters now marry uxorilocally in the village if their mother is still alive. If the parents live long enough their daughter's daughters in turn marry and build their huts there. A crisis comes when either the man or his wife dies. The children have to decide whether to stay where they are or to move back to their own matrilineal village. If they do stay at their father's village they form the nucleus of a patrilaterally-linked group. As they grow older the senior male of their matrilineage may come to live with them. Through the years while this internal differentiation is developing within the village, the huts are decaying and being rebuilt. While new hut sites are being selected the physical form of the village is reflecting the continuing social differentiation.

At the same time gardens are being planted and crops reaped each year. The soil in the first garden sites has probably been depleted already and is either lying fallow or is under cassava.

[1] Usually the name-heir of a woman, i.e. her daughter's daughter.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

As garden land becomes scarcer, members of the village have probably approached patrilateral or affinal kinsmen in other villages for personal grants of land. The lands immediately surrounding the village have long since become depleted and crops will only thrive on lands some miles away; then the village moves its site. How long it will be before this becomes necessary, depends on the fertility of the soil. Most villages must move eventually. When they do they may move a few hundred yards only, or on the other hand, they may select a site thirty to forty miles away. Whether the site is far or near, the migration is not a mass movement of the village as I have so far assumed for the purposes of analysis. As a rule a few villagers, including the headman, move first. The headman may be there a year or more before the second lot of villagers move. They usually move in sorority-groups so that when they build at the new site they place their huts in sections. Thus, the internal social organization of the village is reflected in the same way as before. The whole move may take three or four years before it is completed.

This process of development of the village and its gradual and continual reformation is sometimes hastened by the conflicts that appear within it. I have from time to time mentioned various conflicts that have led to the split of a village and the subsequent migration of one of its sections. The new section sets up a small hamlet in a distant locality, especially if the reason for its secession was sorcery. Here the general process of evolution is started anew. Its parent village, however, is strengthened by the migration since the dissident elements have left it. It continues to carry on its existence and to throw off other villages from time to time.

The number of villages, in the area I studied, is increasing with the increase of population, but the average size of each village remains constant and appears to have done so for many years.[1] But at the same time some villages as entities are disappearing while new ones are being formed. A few new villages become resorbed by their parent villages when for some reason they cannot continue their separate existence. Other villages fragment and do not split. The individual village members leave the village and go their separate ways. Very frequently when

[1] See the argument in Chap. II, p. 40.

APPENDIX B

GENEALOGY, HUT COUNT AND VILLAGE PLAN: ALI KASUNKA VILLAGE

Hut numbers in brackets after the names in the genealogy.
Other symbols: d – dead; mo – married out; Im – labour migrant; s – below age of puberty; k – kitchen.

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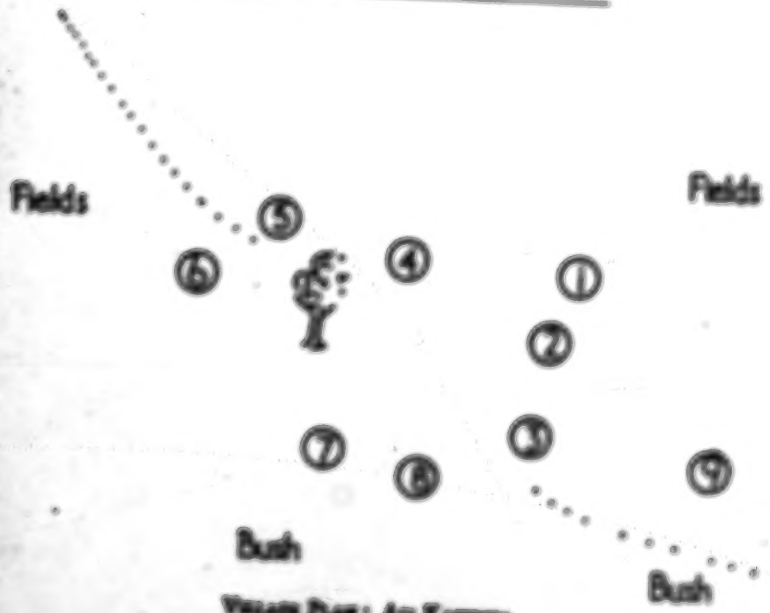
Hut Ownership

Hut No.	Owner	Gen. Ref.
1	Br. Kasunka	C5
2	Br. Nkamala	D10
3	Br. Ntawa	D1
4	Alieje	D13
5	Br. Sale	D15
6	Mwanaze	D16
7	Ali Kasunka	C6
8	Mkakeyao	C1
9	Anawila	C7



Village Plan: Ali Kasunka
(Not to Scale)
Key

APPENDIX C

SKELETON GENEALOGY, HUT COUNT AND VILLAGE PLAN: MIDE SECTION OF MAJAJA VILLAGE

Only hut owners are shown in the genealogy.

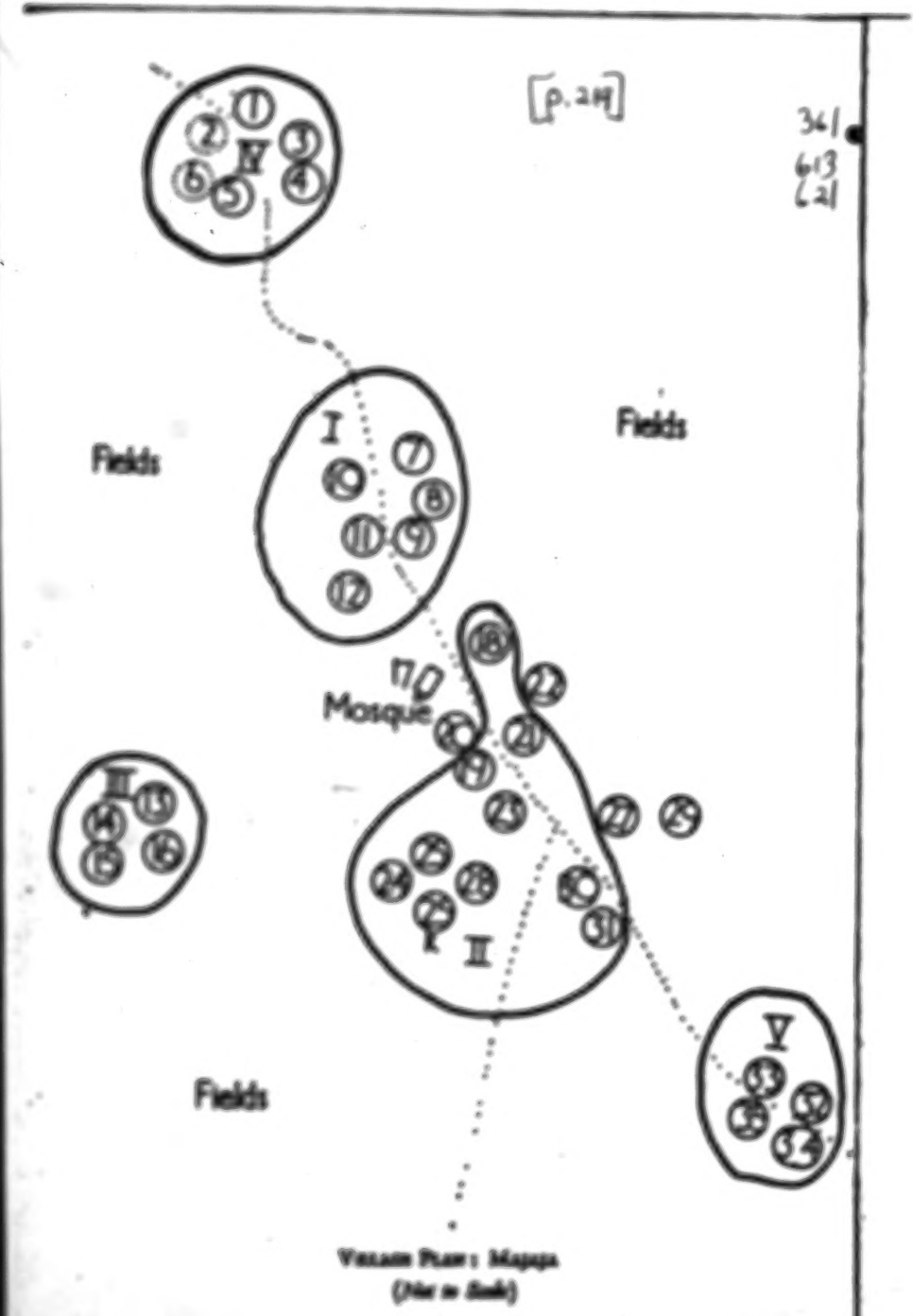
Hut Count

Hut No.	Owner	Gen. Ref.	Hut No.	Owner	Gen. Ref.
1	Mosi	Ba	19	Bi. Taiwo	D6
2	Empty		20	Kitchen to hut 18	
3	Ashiyanjo	C5	21	Bi. Wuri	
4	Girls' dormitory		22	Ngwolaka	
5	Sayisi	D11	23	Bi. Toyali	
6	Chanel		24	Bi. Saidi	
7	Bi. Nyili	D5	25	Bi. Saidi	
8	Bi. Mbangani	D5	26	Bi. Gwamaba	D5
9	Bi. Dawa	D5	27	Ali Asini	
10	Bi. Wamba	D5	28	Boys' dormitory	
11	Ashwanjilo	C6	29	Bi. Cimango	C11
12	Bisiya	C6	30	Bi. Juma	D5
13	Baisi	C6	31	Asanyango	
14	Bi. Mbanje	C6	32	Palanjo	
15	Amina	C7	33	Bi. Majaja	C11
16	Bi. Chiwawa		34	Ambalaje	
17	Mwanje	C5	35	Bibi	C10
18	Chiwi		36	Lusi	

The following huts are not included in the genealogy:

Hut 3—Empty.
Hut 4—Girls' dormitory.
Hut 6—Chanel.
Hut 17—Mwanje.
Hut 20—Kitchen to Hut 18.
Hut 22—Ngwolaka, a non-relative.
Hut 28—Boys' dormitory.
Hut 30—Bi. Juma, a relative of Ngwolaka.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7



APPENDIX D

GENEALOGY AND HUT COUNT: CHOJA VILLAGE

Hut Count

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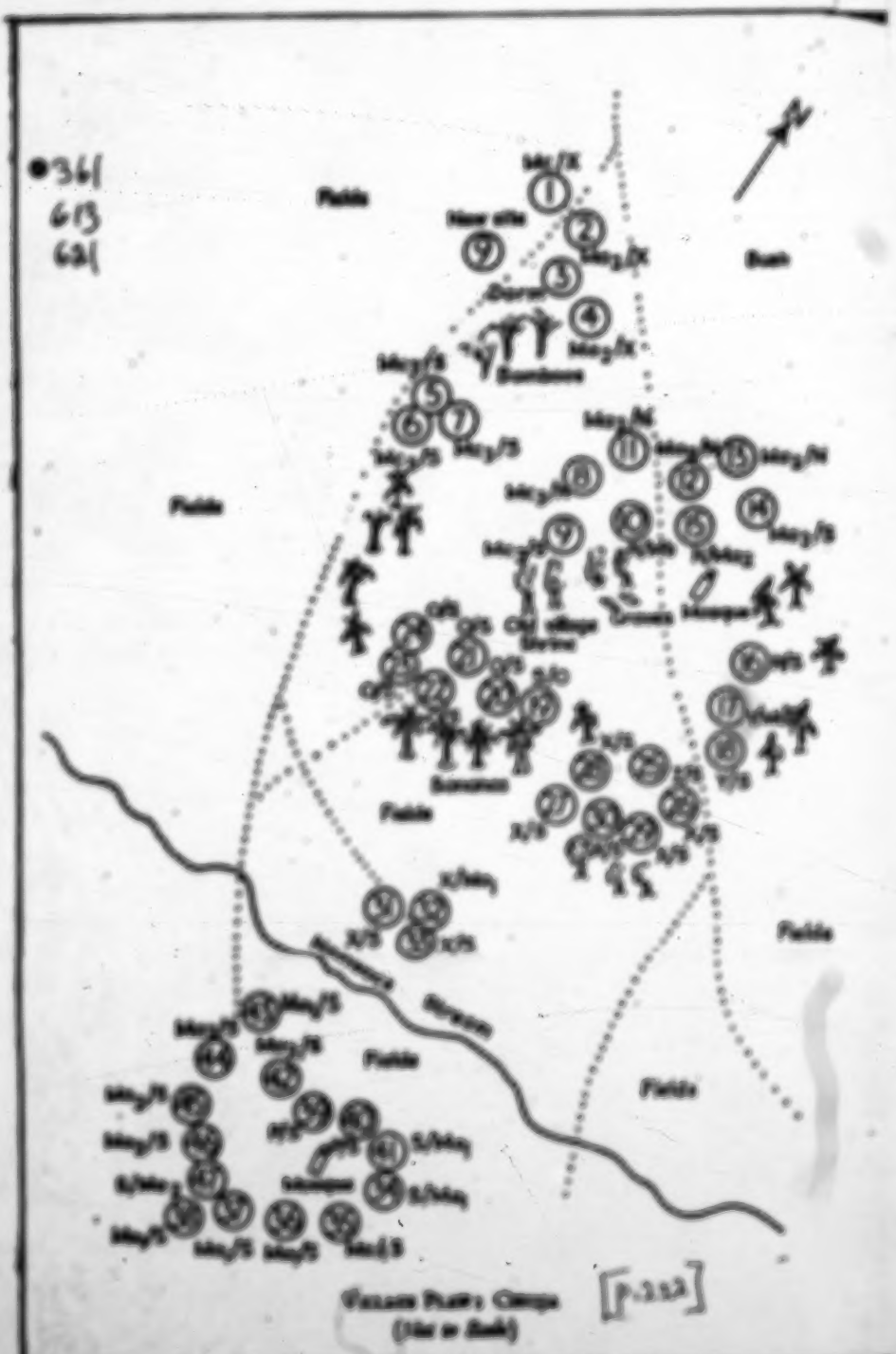
Hut No.	Wife's name	Gen. Ref.	Name of husband	Gen. Ref.
1	Amanda	D14	Mbwana	C11
2	Ayesi	E8	Kasuli	D11
3	(Boys' dormitory)			
4	Bt. Tepesi	F37	Mapila	E32
5	Bt. Benda	E19	(outsider)	
6	Aniya	D13	(outsider)	
7	Bt. Amanza	E14	(outsider)	
8	Alesi	D16	Ali Mkwanda	C13
9	Lunjela	E13	(outsider)	
10	Ajanso	E25	Musa	D7
11	Bt. Mwanadi	G10	Nkanzwila	D10
12	Bt. Bwana ku	F16	(outsider)	
13	Bt. Amina	E4	(outsider)	
14	Anshiya	E9	(outsider)	
15	Abena	E30	Rajabu	F20
16	Bt. Selemani	D19	(outsider)	
17	Nerweza	B60	Salimu ii	D3
18	Bt. Kazenga	D40	(outsider)	
19	(outsider)		Ali Tepesi	E40
20	Alima	D22	(outsider)	
21	Abiya	D23	(deserted)	
22	Kalingule	E38	(outsider)	
23	Akumbiripe	E31	(outsider)	
24	Bt. Ciwina	E33	(outsider)	
25	Bt. Mwenye	C14	(outsider)	
26	Bt. Mwanjale	E35	(outsider)	
27	Alesi	E37	(outsider)	
28	Bt. Cisinga	E39	(outsider)	
29	Anileya	E36	(outsider)	
30	Tuwenje	E34	(outsider)	
31	Bt. Ulunga	D34	(outsider)	
32	Bt. Lilombe	E33	Jumma	F7
33	Bt. Cikwenga	F44	(outsider)	
34	(outsider)		Cilombe	F1
35	Bt. Madi	F10	(outsider)	
36	Bt. Aliya	F11	(outsider)	

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

Hut Covers—*continued*

Hut No.	Wife's name	Gen. Ref.	Name of husband	Gen. Ref.
37	Dr. Hulika	Ey	(*remainder*)	
38	Dr. Kimo	G1	(*remainder*)	
39	Anewlo	Ey2	(*remainder*)	
40	Dr. Magowwa	Dy2	(*remainder*)	
41	(*remainder*)		Kemi	Fy
42	Idugu	Fy4	(*remainder*)	
43	Dr. Mbowwa	Fy	(*remainder*)	
44	Ayyeyje	Fy3	(*remainder*)	
45	Kanigori	Fy2	(*remainder*)	
46	Ashimwa	Ey	(*remainder*)	
47	(*remainder*)		Chuga VI	By

Note: The genealogies for Appendices B, C and D have been inserted as folding plates at the end of the book.


Public
Bush
Public
Public
Public
Public
Fields
Fields
Bamboos
Bamboos
Bamboos

KEY TO CIKOJA VILLAGE PLAN

Ma = Senior segment of dominant matrilineage, i.e. descendants of Nchilago (C1). 361 613 624

Mb = Second segment of dominant matrilineage, i.e. descendants of Dr. Mkwinda (C6).

Mc = Third segment of dominant matrilineage, i.e. descendants of Lunjala (C8).

Ma_1 = Descendants of Andeya (D1).

Ma_2 = Descendants of Amuliawa (D2).

Mc_3 = Descendants of Amawula (D14).

Mc_4 = Descendants of Asiya (D15).

Mc_5 = Descendants of Alusi (D16).

N, O, P, X, Y, Z = Patrilineally-linked lineages.

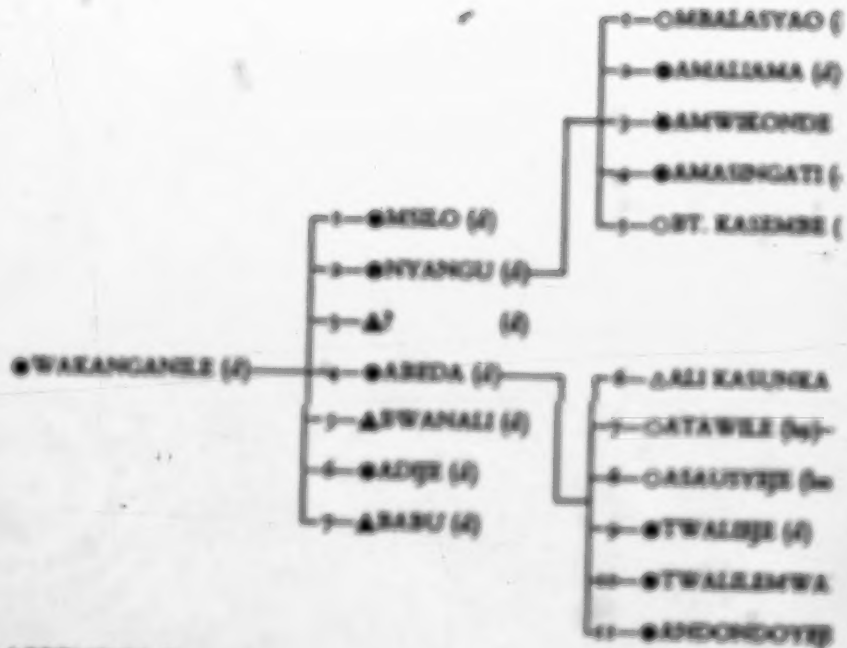
$ = Outsiders.

Mc_3/B = A female descendant of Amawula married to a man from B patrilineally-linked lineage.

[p.223]

Generation—A B C

● 361
613
624



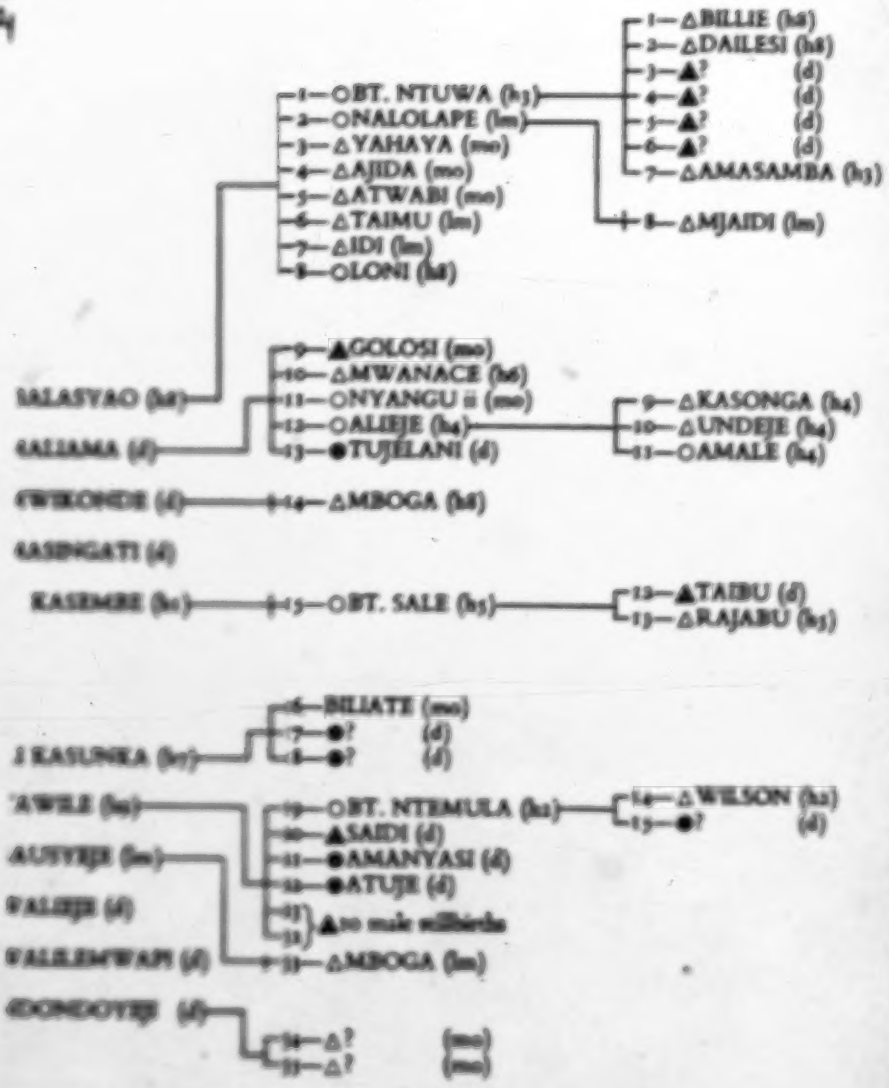
APPENDIX B

[End chart 1A]

• 361
613 C
614

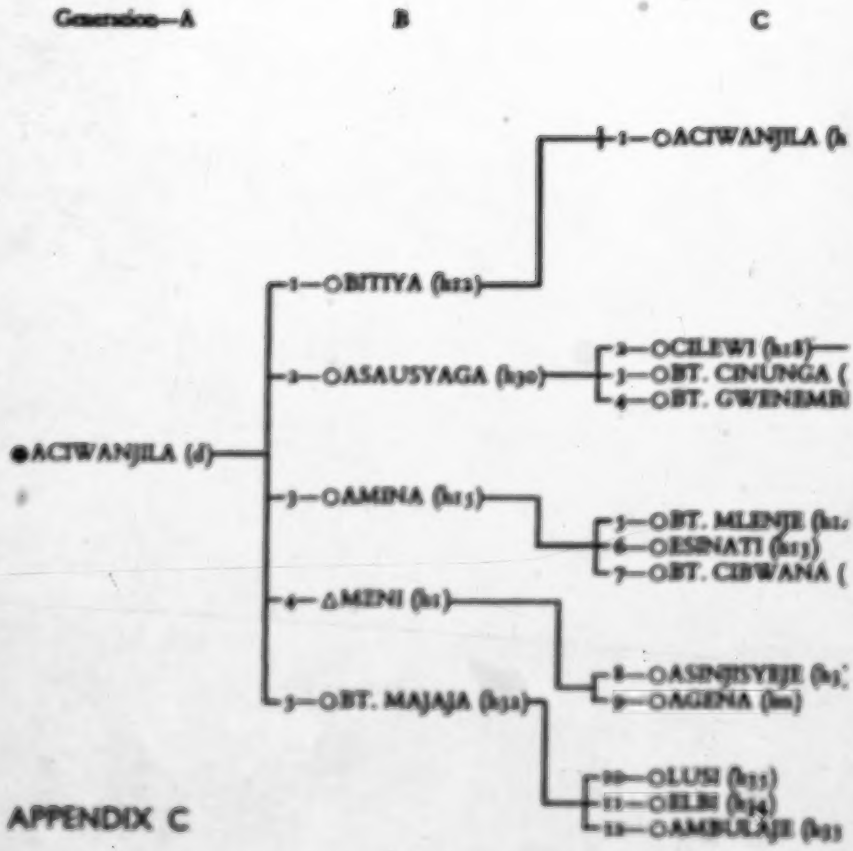
D

E



[End chart 16]

●361
613
621

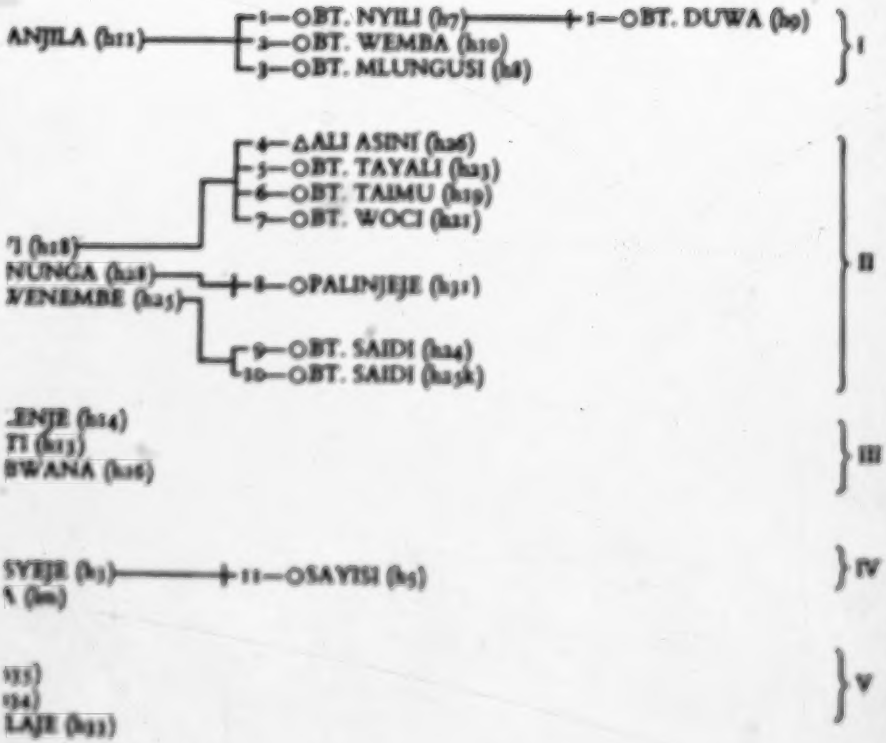


APPENDIX C

[End chart 2a]

● 361
613
621

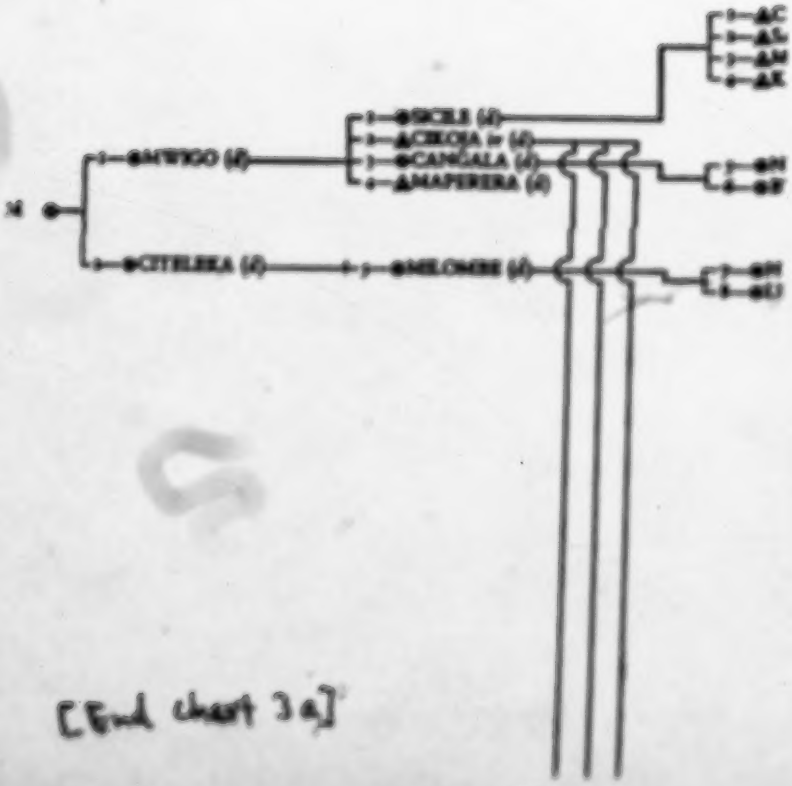
C D E



[End chart 2b]

Gauntlet A B

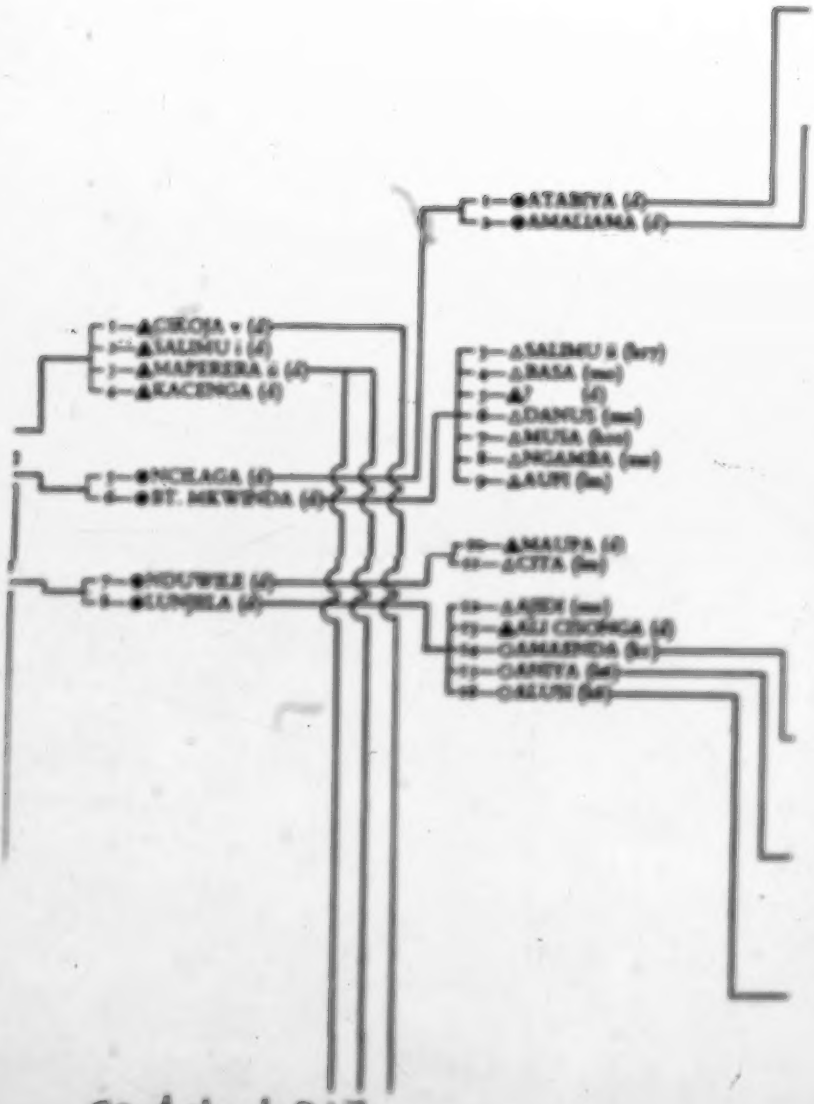
361
63
64 APPENDIX D



[End chart 34]

C D

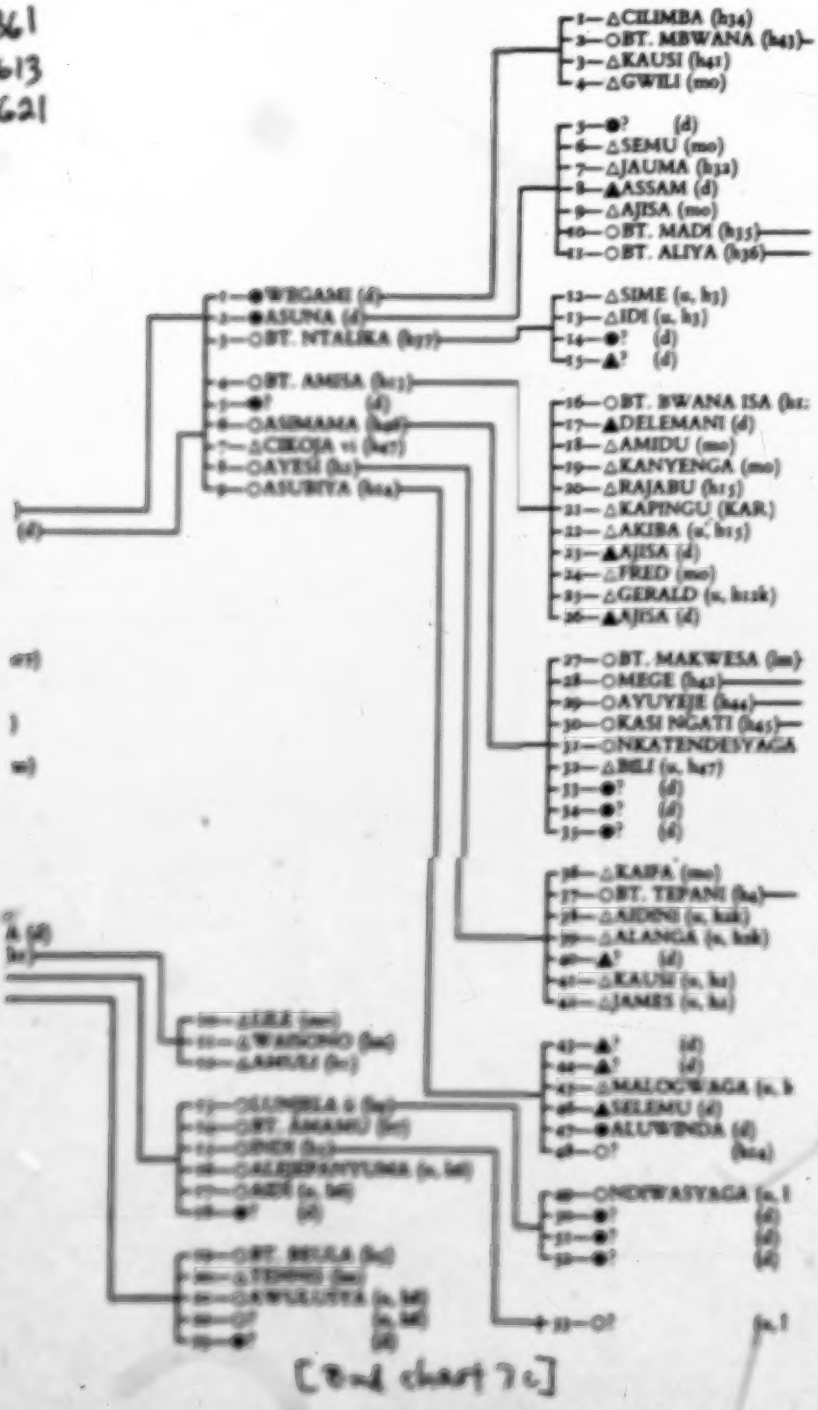
●361
613
621



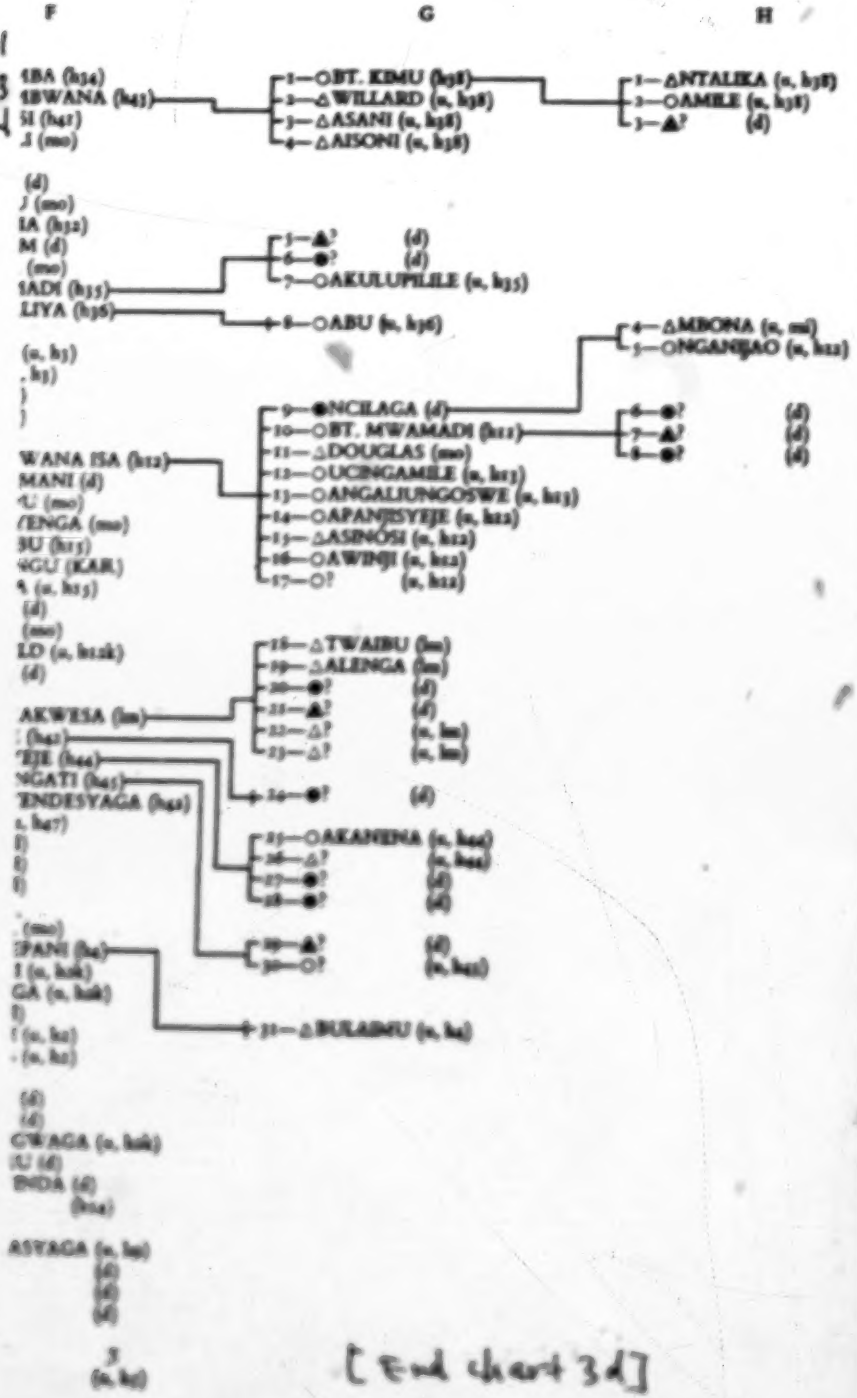
[End chart, 3 b]

E F

●361
613
621



[End chart 7c]


F
G
H
1BA (h34)
1BWANA (h43)
SI (h42)
S (mo)
1—○BT. KIMU (h38)
2—△WILLARD (n, h38)
3—△ASANI (n, h38)
4—△AISONI (n, h38)
1—△NTALIKA (n, h38)
2—○AMILE (n, h38)
3—▲? (d)
(d)
J (mo)
IA (h32)
M (d)
(mo)
1ADI (h35)
LIYA (h36)
5—▲? (d)
6—●? (d)
7—○AKULUPILILE (n, h35)
8—○ABU (n, h36)
4—△MBONA (n, m)
5—○NGANJAO (n, h22)
(n, h)
, h)
)
)
9—●NCILAGA (d)
10—○BT. MWAMADI (h22)
11—△DOUGLAS (mo)
12—○UCINGAMILE (n, h23)
13—○ANGALIUNGOSWE (n, h23)
14—○APANJISYEJE (n, h22)
15—△ASINOSI (n, h22)
16—○AWINJI (n, h22)
17—○? (n, h22)
6—●? (d)
7—▲? (d)
8—●? (d)
WANA ISA (h22)
MANI (d)
U (mo)
/ENGA (mo)
3U (h23)
4GU (KAR)
9 (n, h23)
(d)
(mo)
LD (n, h22k)
(d)
18—△TWAIBU (hn)
19—△ALENGA (hn)
20—●? (d)
21—▲? (d)
22—△? (n, hn)
23—△? (n, hn)
AKWESA (hn)
(h42)
EJE (h44)
NGATI (h45)
ENDESYAGA (h42)
, h47)
)
)
)
24—●? (d)
25—○AKAPIENA (n, h44)
26—△? (n, h44)
27—●? (d)
28—●? (d)
(mo)
PANI (h4)
(n, h4k)
GA (n, h4k)
)
(n, h2)
(n, h2)
29—▲? (d)
30—○? (n, h21)
31—△BULABMU (n, h4)
(d)
(d)
GWAGA (n, h4k)
U (d)
INDA (d)
(h24)
ASYAGA (n, hn)
(d)
(d)
(d)
3
(n, h4)

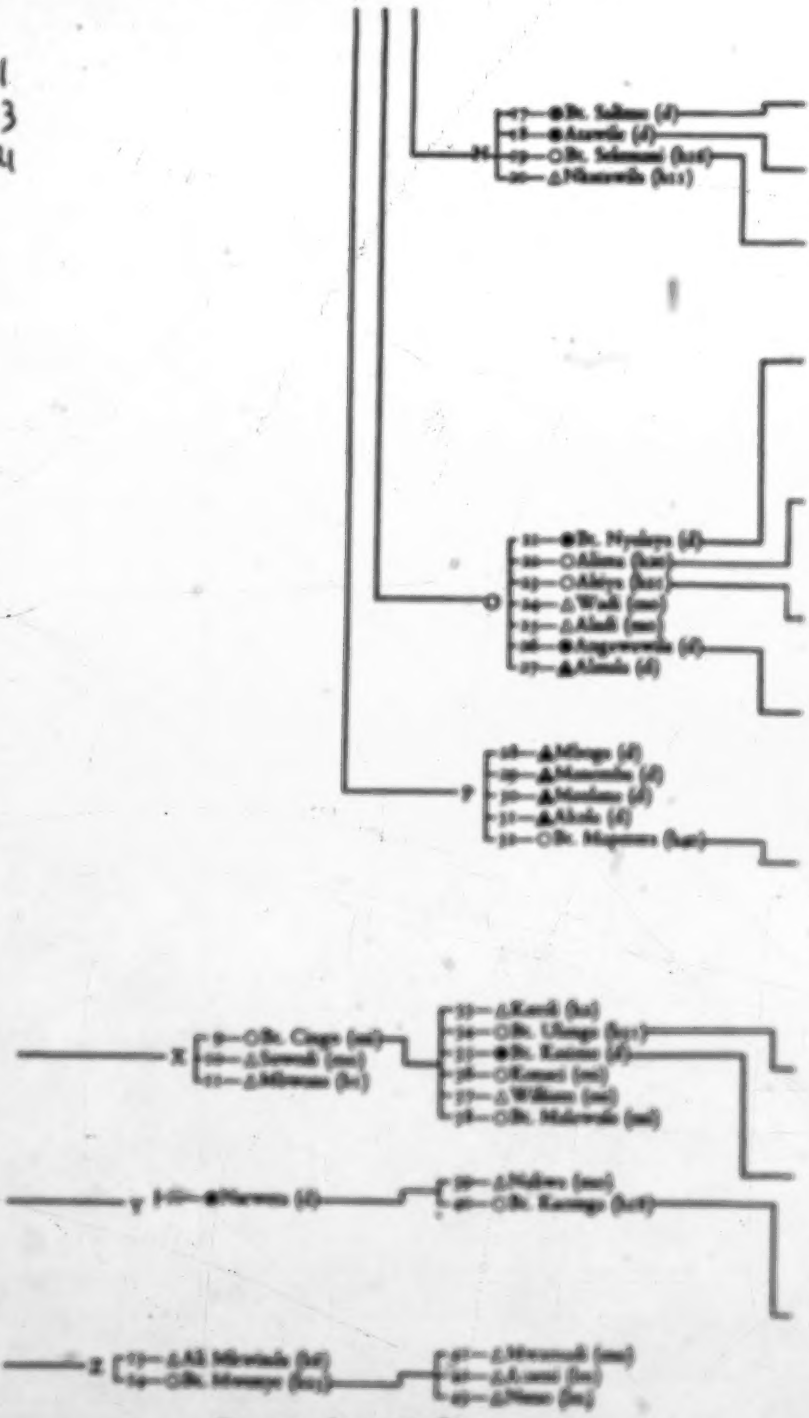
[End chart 3d]

●361
613
621

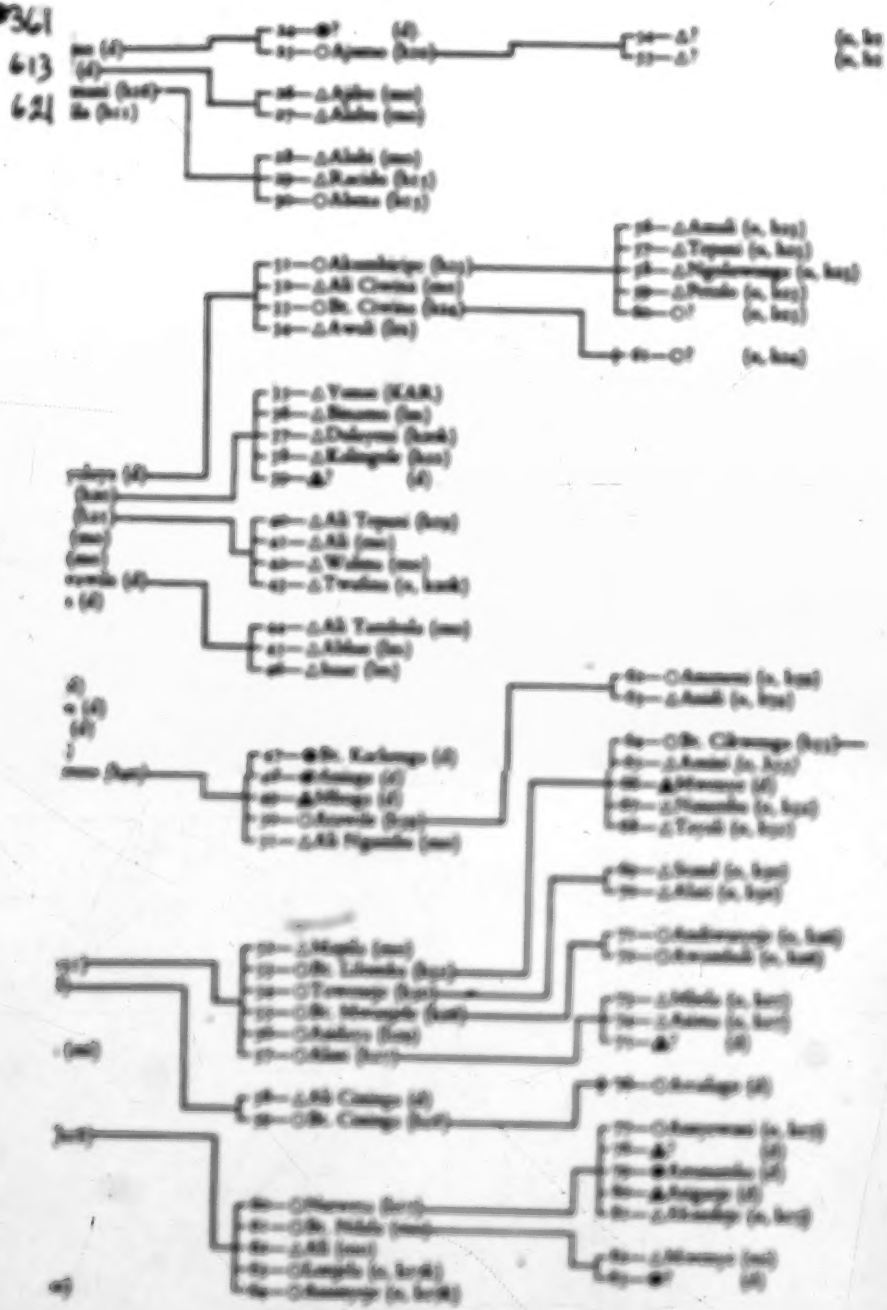
Dominant marriage in CAPITALS
Non members in brackets after names
Other symbols :—
d = dead
mc = married out
im = labour migrant
u = below age of puberty
ml = migrated
k = kinless
KAR = King's African Rifles

[End chart 3a]

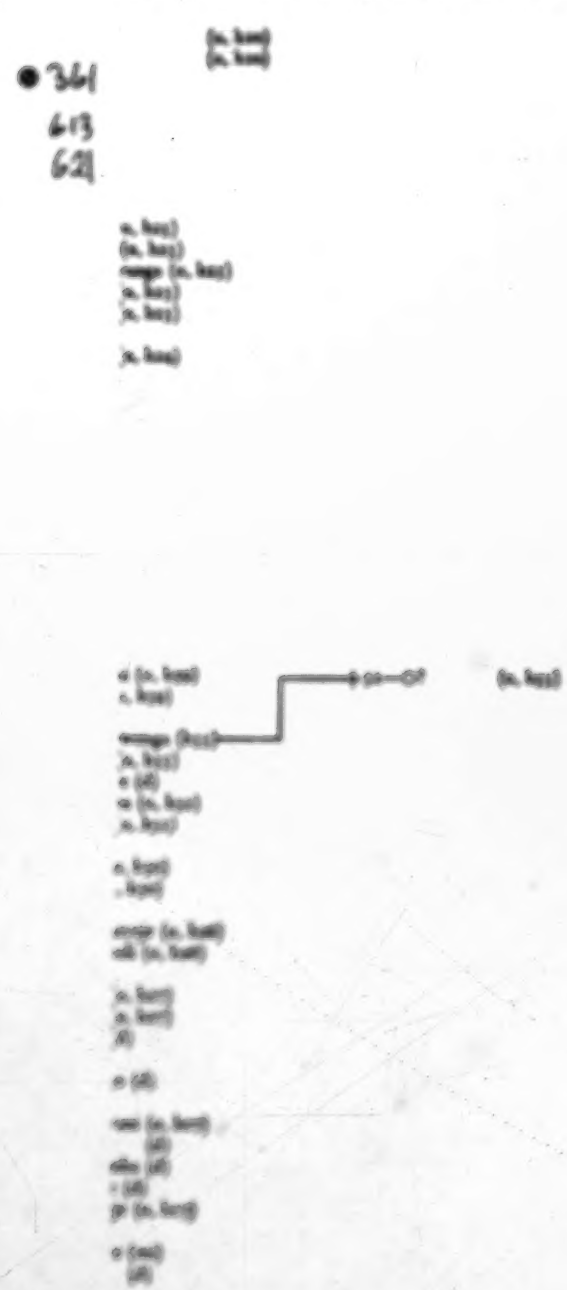
● 361
613
621



[End chart 3 f]



[End chart 3g]



[end chart 34]

3:Stanton D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Tao FT7

There has never been any shortage of land and therefore the planting out of gardens was a matter which caused little trouble. A man wishing to make a new garden (the next season simply marked the site in the bush by storing some trees or hoeing around some patches of grass and tying the grass ends into a knot. If anyone else came along and found this plot, the man who had marked it out still claimed it and need not pay for the hoeing done. Whenever a man was doubtful about a piece of land, he would ask advice of the headman of the village.

When an abandoned garden had become overgrown, anyone wishing to take it up applied to the headman who sent him to ask the original owners whether they wished to take it up again. The newcomer could take possession only with their permission.

Often if a village were moved, during the first season the people simply put up shelters in their gardens. Later, the site of the village was chosen and around it a medicine man sprinkled medicine to insure happiness and prosperity. The tree from which this medicine was made became sacred to the village and might not be used for firewood, or was subject to any other taboo the medicine man might care to make. He might also say, "In this village there shall be no pounding of grain at night," etc.

If a village were to be built near a spot previously inhabited, medicine and offerings were made to the departed spirits of the former occupants to put them at rest and "open" the place to the newcomers. The bone-pot from the grave of some former chief or headman, who was supposed to have directed the destinies of the old village, was brought to the new location and here placed in it to insure his continued guidance.

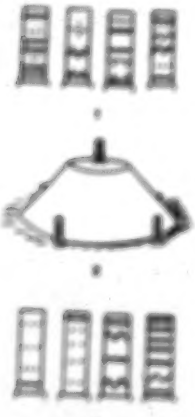
In the case of a village into which a number of men had married, the sponsors of the wives went to the sponsors of the husbands and asked permission to move the village. Later, beer was brewed in the new village and the sponsors invited to come and drink and "put feet in the new village."

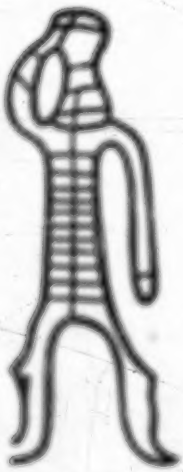
Relationship. Family relationship among natives presents certain difficulties to the European accustomed to equivalent relationship of males and females on both sides of the family. In the diagram below (Fig. 1) the relationship of the two children (C 1) will be traced. The mother and father (B 10 and 9) are the subjects and were but are addressed as sons and sister. The maternal males elder and younger than the mother (B 11 and 12) are called *chembewa* and their wives (B 13 and 14) *akangwa*. The maternal males are addressed as sons, mother, anyone older than the mother being distinguished as *sena mukulungwa*, "the bigger" (B 12), a younger aunt as *sena nanandi*, "the lesser" (B 17); their respective husbands are addressed *atati*, *atati mukulungwa* (B 16), and *atati nanandi* (B 18). On the father's side the males are called *atati mukulungwa* (B 1) and *atati nanandi* (B 2), respectively, for those older and younger than the father, and their wives *amai mukulungwa* (B 3) and *amai nanandi* (B 4). The paternal males are called *atati mukulungwa* (female speaks) (B 5 and 7), their husbands (B 6 and 8) *atati*.

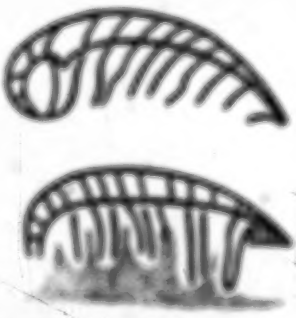
* See supra, p. 380.

778
125
532

[341]







[End Plate 10]
[Explanation of plates, vol. IX, p. 365]

9: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1948) 1949 F'77 Yao F'77

ship. The difficulties of his position are brought home to the neophyte village headman in speeches made by old and experienced men. On one such occasion I heard a man say, 'Some men who marry into a village are bad and one spit a village like this one by telling lies to the headman, saying that his sisters are talking behind his back and are insulting him. When a headman hears all this he might break his village by ill-treating his relatives, thus causing himself to be left all alone.' In this way the headman's responsibility for maintaining harmonious relations between the members of the village and himself is emphasized. His failure to do so results in what they call a break in the village—the departure of some of the members to live elsewhere—which is a severe blow to the status of the headman. In fact, he is dependent on his dependants for status, and the Yao are quick to point this out to neophyte headmen, saying, 'A tree cannot grow without branches.'

We can better understand the situation if we consider the social structure of the Yao village a little more closely. The Yao are a matrilineal people and are dominantly matrilocal. They live in small groups of huts scattered fairly evenly over the country and from a few hundred yards to possibly a mile or so apart. Such clusters may contain as few as five or as many as sixty or more huts, occupied by between 20 and 100 people.

These people are almost always kindreds, and in the smaller villages they are usually all either matrilineal descendants of a common ancestress or their spouses. In the larger groups there is a more complex situation which I shall analyse below. In the simpler groups there may be no male matrilineal descendant in the village and the leadership of the group is taken over by a senior female descendant of the founder of the village. Usually, however, if the group is large, one of the male matrilineal descendants lives patrilocally in the village and assumes leadership.

The relationship between a male matrilineal descendant and the female matrilineal descendants who are in his charge is signified by the word 'ukamba'. The word particularly refers to the relationship between a man and his sisters and I have therefore translated it as 'security group'. It includes a man's full sisters, matrilineal female collaterals (whom he calls sisters), their female children, and the female children of these female children, and so on. It is usually used in the sense of 'somebody's security group'. A man belonging to the descent group of the security group may refer to these women as 'our security group'. The man who is in charge of the security group is referred to as the *nyam ukamba*. This could be translated as 'owner of the security group' but because of the property associations with the word 'owner' in our language, I have instead translated this as 'warden of the security group' which expresses more accurately the relationship between a man and his female relatives. Even in those groups where there is a female in charge of the village and no male matrilineal descendant is resident in the group, there is usually some one man, possibly married in some other village, who is warden of the security group. The warden of a security group has certain precise duties to perform on behalf of his charges. First, he is concerned with the good relations between members of the security group and with other such groups. He has to settle most of the domestic quarrels that take place between members of the security groups. Second, and this is considered to be a most important function, he is the person who is the

impressed on people's memories and remembered by most of the people. Thus it was desirable to find a useful reference date between 1930 and 1940. It might be thought that the death of King George V would be memorable. However, though all who were old enough at the time could remember the celebrations, only a few could remember the death of King George.

This dubious chronology was filled in by events of more local significance. For example, Kevinge's brick house was built in 1929, the present Hyundai succeeded in 1933, &c. In addition, in particular hamlets there were men who had been in the Army, or had been to work in South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. Usually they could recall the date of going and sometimes of return, though they may have lost count of the intervening years. Such dates were often useful points. A small minority had actually recorded the dates of birth and death of children.

In addition to this, it was possible to fix the ages of the young children by reference to harvests, since the Tao reckon two years to correspond, 'last year' meaning before the last harvest and 'the year before last' meaning the period before the harvest before last. Before the year before last, all time is merely *kale kale*, the only indication of the period being the pitch of the voice in which it is said or the presence or absence of an exclamatory 'E!' before speaking.

Particular care was taken to ascertain the ages of women and the dates at which they had borne children. There was, as mentioned above, some reticence in mentioning the names of dead children, but this was usually met successfully by questioning the women's male relatives who were generally more communicative on these points. In spite of the care taken to obtain this information, it was impossible to fix the ages of the women in the sample, and they have been excluded from the major part of the analysis. In addition, there were thirty-nine men who were not available for questioning. These were all adults, the husbands of women in the hamlets. The Tao are matrilocal and matrilineal, and men tend to spend much of their time away from the hamlet of their relatives-in-law. Since they are in many ways strangers in the hamlets no information could be obtained about them.

2. The Common Background of Fertility

All the hamlets visited were occupied by members of the Tao tribe. The Tao are an Islamized people who achieved the questionable distinction of being officially shot outdoors at the end of the nineteenth century. They are a matrilocal and patrilineally exogamous people living in hamlets of from about 5 to 100 houses or more.

Table I. *Age of Women at First Marriage*

Age of women at first marriage													
Under 20	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	0	—	—	—	18	18·3
20–25	0	0	0	55	0	0	0	0	—	0	0	55	55·9
Over 25	—	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	—	0	—	25	25·4
Totals	0	14	13	76	11	11	0	0	—	0	0	100	100

[p. 141 ✓]

[6] The people with whom this paper is concerned[1] occupy that part of Nyasaland between the Chikala Range in the South, Mount Mangoche in the North; the Shire River to the West, and the Portuguese East African border to the East. This area is represented on the accompanying diagrammatic map. A more detailed description of the general social organization of the Yao in this area, and of their history and general cultural background is to be published shortly.[2] At this point it is sufficient to say that the Yao are semi-subsistence cultivators living in village settlements ranging from a few huts to sixty or more, with an average of about twelve. This represents say a population average of about 60 per village but ranging from 15 to over 200. These village settlements are inhabited by groups of kinsmen. In general there is a matrilineal core of kinsmen of whom the village headman, who has the same name as the village, is one. In some more complex villages there are subsidiary matrilineages related to the matrilineal core agnatically